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TRANSACTIONS

OF THE

~~1877~~

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ARCHAEOLOGICAL SOCIETY OF AGRA;

(January to June 1878.)

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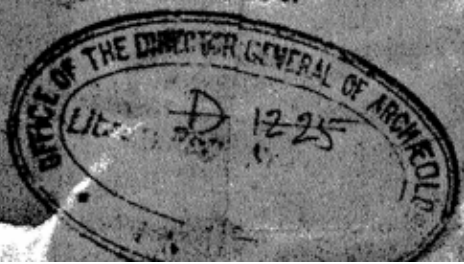
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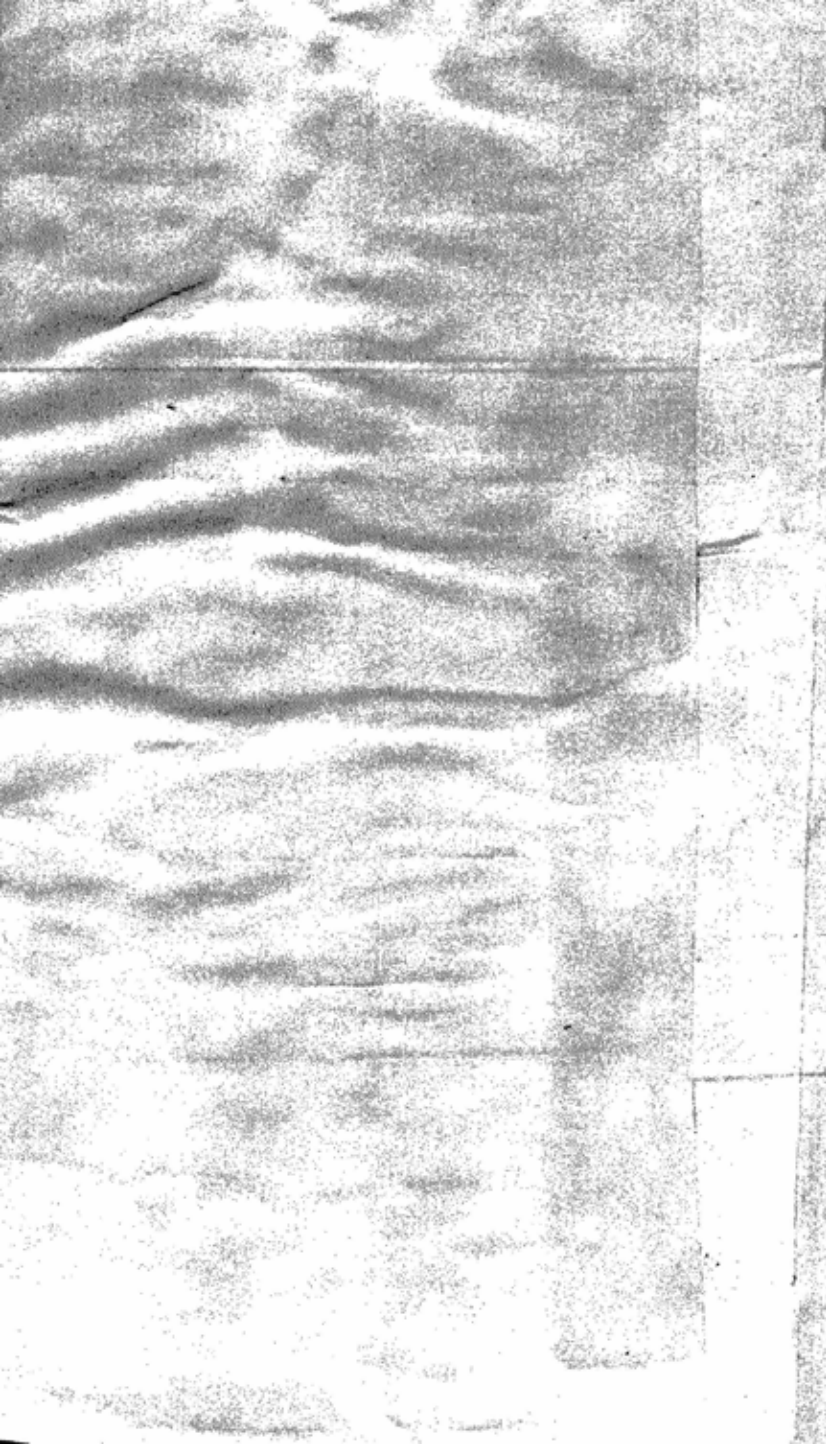
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1878.





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Lala Durga Pershad.

Lala Salig Ram.

Lala Girdhur Lal.

Rae Raghonath Rao Dinkar.

Synd Mahmood, Esq., *Barrister-at-Law.*

Dr. J. H. Robbins.

*Proceedings of a Meeting of the Members
of the Archæological Society of Agra,
held at the President's house, on
Saturday the 16th February
1878, at 7 A. M.*

PRESENT :

H. G. KERN, ESQ., *President.*

PUNDIT KEDAR NATH.

PUNDIT JUGGAN NATH.

LALA BAHAL RAO, *Joint Secretary.*

The President having taken the chair, the following Resolutions were proposed :—

1st.—Proposed by the President and seconded by Pundit Juggan Nath, that Mr. C. W. McMinn, be elected a member of the Society.

2nd.—Mr. McMinn having been offered the Secretaryship of the Society, accepted the post.

3rd.—Out of eight coins of three or four Sovereigns, three of a square shape called Jallalah Akbari were exhibited by the President as having been sent to the Judge's Court for disposal, and it was resolved, that, if sold, they should be purchased by the Society if obtainable at a moderate price.

4.—A paper written by the President and Mr. Heath on
Jhomprá at Ajmere was presented to the meeting.

5th.—A Note by the Joint Secretary on the *Mubárik Manzil* was laid before the meeting, and it was resolved, that this paper after circulation among the Council together with the paper on *Arhai din ka Jhompra* be printed.

6th.—With respect to the gentlemen who paid no attention to repeated calls to pay up their subscriptions, it was resolved, that they be once more written to, and in case of their not replying, their names should be struck off the books of the Society.

7th.—Resolved, that all members on their election be required to pay up six months subscription in advance, and that when a member leaves the station, his subscription should be suspended, and that this resolution be allowed retrospective effect.

8th.—It being understood that Mr. W. F. Heath is about going to Biana, resolved, that he be requested to favor the Society with a descriptive paper of buildings and inscriptions of the neighbourhood and other subjects worth noticing.

9th.—That the Council be requested to read over the Rules of the Society with a view to their further amendment.

10th.—That Pundit Juggan Nath be asked to write a paper on the Kuchpura buildings and to inspect and see if any thing can be discovered in the excavations made by the Famine Relief Works.

11th.—That the Joint Secretary be requested to report on the cheapest way of printing these papers.

12th.—The accounts up to date were submitted and passed.

(Sd.) H. G. KEENE,

President.

*Proceedings of a Meeting of the Members
of the Council of the Archaeological
Society of Agra, held at the
President's house, on Wed-
nesday the 1st May 1878.*

PRESENT :

H. G. KEENE, Esq., *President.*

C. W. McMINN, Esq., *Secretary.*

A. CHRISTISON, Esq., M. D.

LALA BAHAL RAE, *Joint Secretary.*

PUNDIT JUGGAN NATH.

The President having taken the chair, the following Resolutions were proposed and carried :—

1.—Proposed by the President and seconded by the Joint Secretary, that Mr. H. F. Evans, be elected a member of the Society.

2.—The Accounts for the first Quarter of 1878 were then laid before the Council and passed, and the Joint Secretary requested to continue collections.

3.—That an abstract of the Joint Secretary's note on the *Mubárik Manzil* be sent to the Commissioner of Customs with the remark, that it is merely an opinion which the Council offers apart from the President, and that a paper containing fuller particulars on the subject will be published in the next No. of the *transactions* of this Society.

4.—Certain books having been presented by Mr. McMinn, the Council resolved to tender their thanks to him for his handsome donation.

5.—The payment of a sum of Rs. 60, was sanctioned for the purchase of nine vols. of the *Asiatic Society's Researches*, vols. 106 to 114.

6.—In consequence of Mr. McMinn's departure, Mr. Evans having consented to undertake the duties of the Secretary, charge will be duly made over to him.

7.—That Messrs. Thacker Spink & Co., be requested to supply this Society with the following works :—

Chronicles of the Pathan Kings of Delhi

and

A new Edition of *Prinsep's Tables* by E. Thomas.

H. G. KEENE,

President.

Agra, the 1st May 1878.

***Proceedings of a Meeting of the Members
of the Archæological Society of Agra,
held at the President's house, on
Sunday the 16th June 1878.***

PRESENT :

H. G. KEENE, Esq., *President.*

C. W. McMINN, Esq.

LALA BAHAL RAE, *Joint Secretary.*

The President having taken the chair, the following Resolutions were proposed and carried :—

1st.—Proposed by the President and seconded by the Joint Secretary, that Mr. Syud Mahmood, Barrister-at-Law, be elected a member of this Society.

2nd.—That the Joint Secretary be requested to prepare the half yearly accounts and have them ready by the end of the current month.

3rd.—That the Paper presented by the President on the Tankah of Akbar be printed among the Transactions of this Society.

H. G. KEENE,
President.

*Proceedings of a Meeting of the Members
of the Council of the Archæological
Society held at Agra in the Judge's
Office, on the 2nd July 1878.*

PRESENT :

H. G. KEENE, Esq., *President.*

LALA BAHAL RAE, *Joint Secretary.*

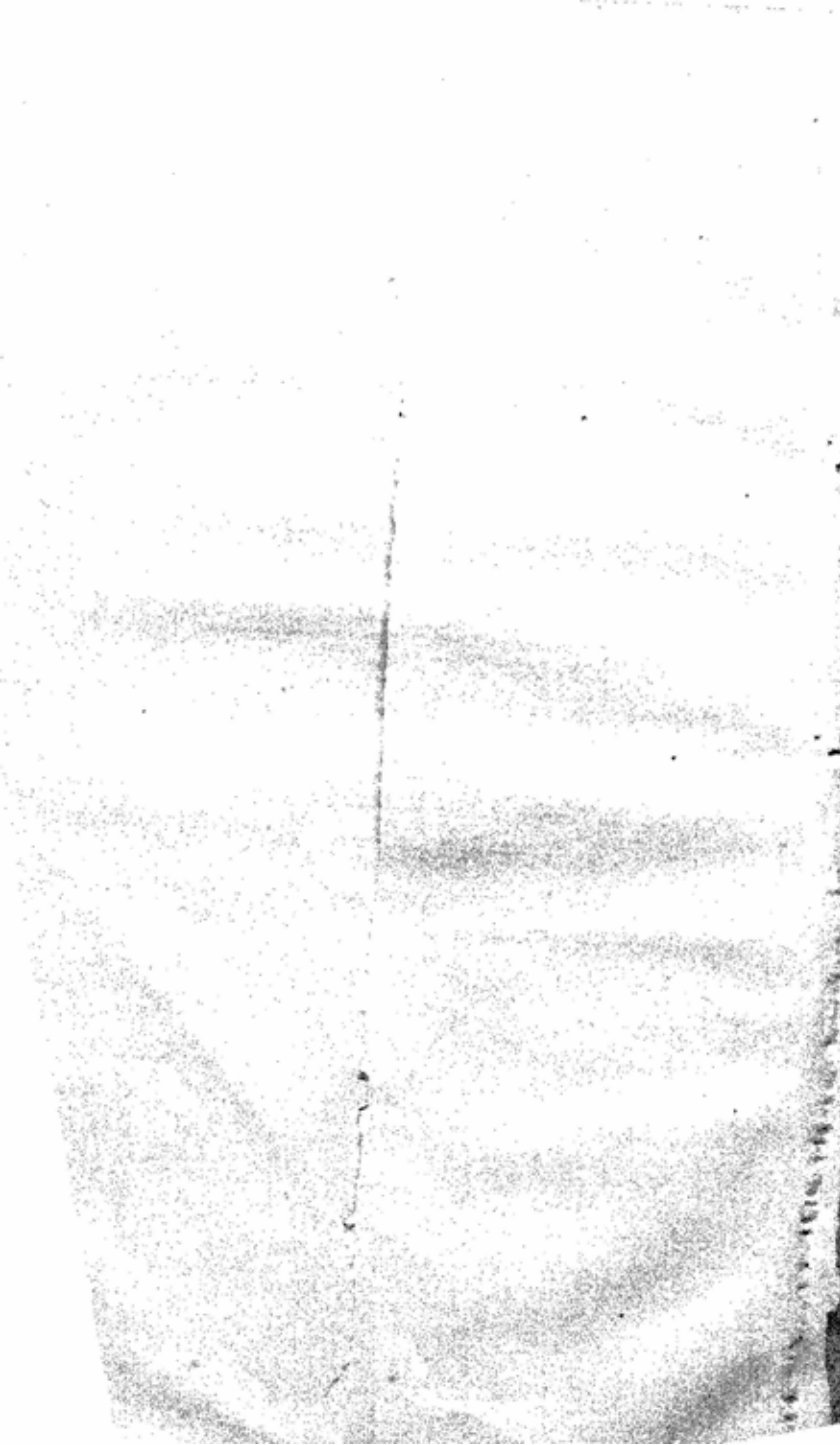
PUNDIT JUGGAN NATH.

The President having taken the chair, the following Resolution was proposed and carried :—

Proposed by the President and seconded by Pundit Juggan Nath, that Dr. H. J. Robbins be elected a Member of this Society.

H. G. KEENE,
President.

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APPENDIX.



Notes on Arhai Din Ka Jhompra by the President, with notes and a plan by Mr. Heath.

You are shown at Ajmere in a gorge at the base of the Tāragarh hill a gate (called *Tirpolya*) leading to a shaped mound with a steep stair-case in the middle, and two pillars of a bright yellow stone forming bastions at the two front corners. On this mound, or terrace, stand the remains of a mosque resembling the mosque of the Kutab at Dehli. The cloisters on the sides have nearly disappeared, but at the back, or west, are still to be seen a number* of pillars, closely resembling those of Dehli, which support carved† ceilings, some flat and some in cupolas. The back wall is clearly of Musalmān construction with the usual *mihrab* and *mimbar*.‡ In front are the ruins of a great screen with openings§ of an Archiform shape just as at

* Fifty-two pillars in four rows and 18 pilasters against brick wall.

† North portion Hindu. Rest more recent.

‡ The *mimbar* appears to me to be an after-thought as the Architrave above has been cut away to allow its being built and the style of decoration is later than the screen I think.

§ Seven Arches standing, centre 40 feet high, four others 29 feet, and two of 27 feet.

I think that the *Tirpolya* gate will have to be put further back than the time of Akbar. I found in the old Fort on Taragarh that the same arch is used for several gateways, and that the arches are twin arches, and that the same lotus flower boss is used in all the spandrels of the arches. When these gates were built it is difficult to say, they are not built of the same stone as the Fort walls, but of the same yellow stone as the mosque, which I have no doubt was obtained from the old Jain temples as several pieces of Jaini sculpture are built into them. The same crenellation is also seen in the Taragarh Fort.

I doubt the statement that the pillars in the mosque are "*in situ*"; that they have been reconstructed as originally designed, I think is evident, as pillars in three distinct stories, and the bracketed capitals on them and the arrangement of the compartment in the roof, point to the fact that they are arranged as in the original temples. But I think it is equally evident that the whole has been reconstructed from

Dehli, the walls being similarly carved with Arabic letters and arabesques.

You are told on the spot:—

1.—That the buildings, inclusive of the *Tirpolya* gate, owe their present form to Ala-ud-din Khilji, (A. D. 1296—1320).

2.—The mosque is a Jain temple *in situ*.

On this I have to observe first, that the *Tirpolya* is not a building of Pathán style, and looks like a work of the time of Akbar. I point to the form of the arch, which is a real arch with the *voussoirs* masked, and with lotus flowers in the masking, one at each corner; also to the shape of the crenellation.

Second, that the mosque is apparently not of the time of Ala-ud-din, but of Shama-ud-din Altamsh, nearly a century earlier (A. D. 1211—1286) and has every appearance of not being a Jain temple *in situ* but a mosque, built up from the ground, in which Jain materials have been freely used.

In support of this I refer to the analogous mosque of the Kutab. Fergusson sees a difference, but does not support his view. At page 209, indeed, he classes the two together as “merely reconstructed

the fact that the pilasters on the back wall are all bonded into the masonry showing that they must have been arranged at the time the wall was built, and without these pilasters the roof could not have stood, as they carry the Architraves that support the domes. And I think that these pilasters did not belong to the same building as the 52 pillars in the centre. Because there is a difference in height of about 7 inches, the pillars being 20 feet 1 inch, and the pilasters only 19 feet 6 inches, and the difference in height is carried out proportionately through the three different parts in the height.

A fracture in the back wall shows that the material used was nearly all obtained from old temples—and I was told that the screen wall showed more than the half of the material as old sculpture. And the quantity of material used in these enormously thick walls would lead me to infer that the remains of several temples must have been used.

W. E. H.

temples of the Jains." But at page 510 he says of the Ajmere building that "whatever be the case at Dehli, its pillars are *in situ*" or "have at least been re-erected as they were originally designed to stand." But of the Kutab mosque he distinctly says (p. 502) that "the probability seems to be that the entire structure was re-arranged in the form (in which) we now see it by the Mohamedans" whereas at Ajmere the Jain pillars are almost certainly as first arranged."

The Kutab mosque was built about 1191 by Kutab-ud-din Aibak, and consisted then of a small rectangle 145 feet \times 96 inside the cloisters, the interior quadrangle at Ajmere seems to have been about 175 feet \times 190, showing that Cunningham is right and Fergusson wrong, in the controversy raised by the latter in the note to his 500 p. It seems likely that the General is equally right when he says that the signs of re-arrangement in the pillars, though not so striking and apparent as at Dehli are not less conclusive (*vide* Archaeological Reports II. 259) On the next page will be found the arguments (which Mr. Fergusson does not dispute) that both buildings are of the same age and probably the same hands.

23rd Jany. 1878.

H. G. K.

Note on the MUBARIK MANZIL, or old Custom-House; by the Joint Secretary.

Having been called upon to enquire and report as to whether the building occupied by the Custom House in Bailungunj was originally a Mohamedan mosque or not, I beg to state as follows:—

The building in question known as the *Mubarik Manzil* does not appear to have been originally a Mohamedan mosque. From an article which appeared in the *Delhi Gazette* Newspaper some time in May or June last, it would seem that the building was named *Mubarik Manzil* in consequence of its being the first halting place of the Emperor Aurangzeb Alomgir after hearing the news of the victory which his troops had gained in the Deccan. The word *Mubarik* means auspicious and *Manzil* is a halting place, neither of the two words

Mubarik and *Manzil* therefore imply that it was a mosque. It might be true that there are signs extant of a small portion of the building having been set apart for prayer but this it will be found has always been done by the Mohamedan Emperors. They have almost always set apart a place either in their own dwelling houses or Palaces for divine worship or built a separate one in its immediate vicinity for that purpose. Many instances of the kind can to this day be seen in the Fort at Agra where every place of residence has a private oratory exclusive of and quite independent of the *Motee Musjid*.

On referring however to the history of the times *viz.* the *Alum-girnameh* it does not appear that any mosque was built by him in or adjacent to the *Mubarik Manzil* in the year in question. Tradition only points it out as the first halting place of the Mohamedan Emperors whenever they set out on a journey.

The late Mr. Beale asserts in his *Mifta-ul-Tawarikh* that "there is an old building called *Mubarik Manzil* in the inner compartment of which Alungir erected a mosque perhaps in 1085 A. H.," the dimensions of which he states to be very large. He quotes no authority for his assertion but relies on an inscription for the verification of his statement. Under the circumstances therefore I can come to no other logical conclusion than that the present building is not a mosque. A mosque might have existed near the present building more than 200 years ago (1085 A. H.) but my impression is that having been allowed to fall into ruin no vestige of it is now left and the present building the *Mubarik Manzil* also would no doubt have shared the fate of the mosque had not the British Government in January 1817 put it in thorough repair at an enormous expense of some thousands of Rupees. I am supported in the above view by Mr. Carlleyle in his Report for 1871-72 on the ancient buildings of Agra, *vide* General Cunningham's Archaeological Survey of India, vol. IV. pages 195 and 196.

BAHAL RAE,

Joint Secretary.

I have gone over the passages in these histories with Lala Bahal Rae and quite agree with him that although there was a mosque inside the *Mubarik Manzil* (andarunish) the building itself was a mere imperial lodge.

(Sd.) CHARLES W. McMINN,

28th April, 1878.

**Chapel of Padree Santos in Agra by the Revd.
Father Symphorien.**

There is in the old Catholic cemetery of Agra, a mortuary Chapel which the Native Christians call *Padree Santos*,* its floor is made of Tomb-stones bearing the names and dates of the deaths of twenty Catholic Priests †. The epitaphs are all in Portuguese, two of the oldest among them read as follow :—*A qui iazo P. Mel Garcia Clerigo, morto no Carcere pe la fe a 23 de Marco 1634. ‡ A qui iazo Fr. Mel Danhaya, Clerigo, morto pe la fe, ena prisao a 2 Agosto 1635. §*

These two inscriptions sufficiently account for the name given to the Chapel, and for the traditional devotion of the Native Christians of Agra for the two Padrees whom they eulogize. Many must have read these epitaphs and felt intensely anxious to know the facts by which the priests Garcia and Danhaya gained the Crown of Martyr-

* This is evidently a corruption of the Portuguese *Padres Santo* holy father.

† A nominal list of these priests is given further on.

‡ Here lies Fr. Manuel Garcia, Cleric (secular priest) who died in prison for the faith on the 23rd of March 1634.

§ Here lies Fr. Manuel Danhaya, Cleric (secular priest,) who died for the faith in prison on the 2nd of August 1635.

dom in the popular mind.* Such was the case with me for upwards of eighteen years, and I had lost all hopes of ever being able to gratify so legitimate a curiosity, when by the favor of the learned Judge and President of the Archæological Society of Agra, H. G. Keene, Esq., I had the good fortune to read a full account, of the sufferings for the faith, of the two above-named clergymen and of Fathers Antony of Christ and Francis of the Incarnation, both Augustinian Monks, in an old book written in the Spanish language, in the seventeenth century and entitled: "Itinerary in the East, of Father Sebastian Manrique, Master in Theology, Monk of the order of hermits of St. Augustin and Apostolic Missionary in India for thirteen years," edited in Rome "cum permissu Superiorum." A. D. 1658.—Manrique was evidently a man of mark, for besides being visitor of all the missions of his order in the East, he was entrusted by the Government of Portugal, with the special office of negotiating with the Moghuls in Agra for the release of war-prisoners, among whom were Fathers Antony of Christ and Francis of the Incarnation. His book gives very interesting historical, topographical and archæological information about the places he visited, and especially Agra, Delhi and Lahore. The following narrative embodies all the details of the sufferings for the faith of Father Antony of Christ and of his companions:—

Manrique says, that he arrived on Christmas Eve 1640 at Agra. This city, which before the time of Akbar had been very insignificant was then the capital of the Moghul Empire, situated on the banks of the river Jumna, and built in the shape "of a half-moon;" it extended over six miles in length and embraced in its circuit, a population of six hundred-thousand inhabitants, besides strangers, of whom there were so many that not less than eighty caravanserais were necessary to give them accommodation. The affluence of people in the streets was so great, says our narrator that it was not without the greatest difficulty, he made his way to the caravanserai of the Armenians. There he enquired for a rich merchant to whom he had letters of

* They cannot be called Martyrs in a *strict sense* because they have not been canonized by the Church.

introduction, and learning that he had gone to a place called Biana, about six days' march from Agra, he resolved to go and find him there. Immediately after Christmas, which he kept in company with Fathers Antony d'Olivera and Matthew DaCruz of the Society of Jesus, who had a Chapel in Agra, and whose hospitality he praises in unfeigned terms, he went to Biana passing through Futtehpur Sikri, the former residence of the Imperial Court, but by that time deserted and ruinous. After a short interview with the merchant to whom he had been recommended, and who gave him one of his relatives to assist him in his affairs, and especially in his negotiations for the release of Father Antony, he returned to Agra; and we are informed by him that the road between this city and Futtehpur Sikri was at that time studded on both sides by magnificent villas.

Having obtained permission from the Governor of Agra to see Fathers Antony of Christ and Francis of the Incarnation, who were then in the Imperial jails, he was brought to them without any previous announcement of his name and quality, and as he wore a Moghul dress, they did not recognize him at first. Father Antony asked him in Hindustanee, who he was; Manrique suppressing his emotion replied in Latin. *Tanto tempore vobiscum fui et non cognovistis me?** These words sufficed to bring to the minds of the venerable prisoners the recollection of their religious brother. They fell into each others' arms; and, in a silent embrace shed tears of joy at so happy a meeting. It was then that Manrique learnt from them, and from their companions in captivity the details of their own sufferings, and of those of Fathers Garcia and Danhaya which our author relates as follows:—

The siege of Hughli by the Moghuls in 1631 was rendered remarkable by the gallant conduct of the small Portuguese garrison, which, in an entirely open and unvalled place, held out against the attacks of a force enormously superior in number. They obstinately defended themselves behind earthen entrenchments during three months; in the mean time the enemy lost a great number of men including ten *umrahs* or Commanders. It was at length resolved to

* "I have been so long with you, and you have not known me."

apply for terms of surrender, and the Prior of the Augustinian monastery at Hughli, Father Antonio da Cristo was sent to the camp of the *subadar* or general of the besieging army with plenary powers. He was accompanied by Father Francesco de la Encarnacion and two Portuguese Captains, but when they saw in the enemy's proceedings that there was no hope of an honest negotiation, they returned to the city, resolved to sell their lives as dearly as possible. They accordingly defended themselves for three months more, during which they slew thirteen thousand of the enemy. At length the latter being largely re-inforced determined upon a general assault; the Portuguese placed their women and non-combatants in the principal church, and, after a vigorous resistance, surrendered on promise of life and liberty. The treaty was broken, and men, women, and children were sent to Agra. The journey occupied eleven months, during which the good Prior did all in his power for his flock, giving his food to the poor, his carriage to the weak, and begging alms on the failure of his own resources. With these labours and sufferings, or speaking more correctly, these spiritual triumphs, the servant of God came together with his companions to the Agra Court.

The captives were divided among the princes and nobles of the Court, but the monarch Shah Jahan, reserved to himself the two Augustinians and two secular priests, of whom one was a Portuguese of Santarem, named Manuel Danhaya; the other, a Bengalee of Serampur, named Manuel Garcia, also some of the leaders and the women who were put into the Imperial Palace.

Many times did Shah Jahan invite the monks and secular priests to become Mahometans, but they repudiated his overtures with scorn, and called on the Emperor, rather to turn from his own errors, and conform to the Catholic faith. Long did they suffer blows and outrages in the public prison; at last the Emperor sent for them, and renewed his temptations in person; not only by threats, but by offers of what he would do for them.

The Prior spoke thus in reply:—"Sovereign and powerful ruler, "if to give you pleasure, were not to offend the Supreme Ruler of the

"sky, believe me, that without any special promises of favor, we should be most joyfully ready to follow your wishes. But since we are bound to the Creator, more than to the creature, and He, who is not only Creator but Redeemer has bid us keep His law; you will surely not take it ill, that we do not embrace a faith which is erroneous, and opposed to reason and understanding. Consider, therefore, lord, to whom we owe obedience."

Shah Jahan was greatly irritated by such an address, and there and then ordered the four magnanimous priests to be executed the next day, by the torture then used against the worst outlaws, that of being trampled under foot by elephants.

The soldiers of Christ spent the night in prayer, imploring with tears His Divine assistance to be faithful to Him even unto death. Early the next day ministers of justice came to summon the captives to undergo the Imperial sentence. Chained together and escorted by a large body of cavalry, the holy confessors proceeded to the place of execution. Immediately in front of the prisoners marched a herald proclaiming aloud their condemnation, in the following terms:—"By order of the great king of the Mahometan law, emperor of all the emperors of the world, preserver of the sanctuary of Lamech, and propagator of the religion of the great prophet, justice is due to these men who are violaters of the law, enemies of God, and blasphemers of the true and holy faith of Moslems." These words in the ears of a crowd of fanatical Mussulmans, sounded as a pledge of paradise to those who should be fortunate enough to inflict blows and outrages on the servants of God; and therefore, madly anxious to seize so favorable an opportunity of ensuring to themselves the glory of heaven, they rushed forward laying hands on the victims of their fury. Thus, passing through an excited mob, amidst insults and ill-treatment, the Christian heroes advance, reciting Psalms and praising God, who had found them worthy to suffer for His Holy Name. The infidels think they blaspheme their prophet, and with fresh fury they strike them on the mouth to make them keep silence.

At last they arrive at an open market-place facing the Delhi-gate of the Fort, where four furious elephants stand, ready to execute the sentence of His Imperial Majesty.

X.

Again, in the name of Shah Jahan, promises of honor and wealth are held out to the holy confessors; if they will abandon the faith of Christ for that of Mahomet, but already beholding the verdant palms and golden crowns of martyrdom awaiting them from heaven they contemptuously reject the diabolical offers, and beseech their executioners speedily to carry out the orders of their master.

At this moment however, Asaf Khan the father-in-law of Shah Jahan moved by their constancy, throws himself at the Emperor's feet, and knowing his sovereign's frame of mind, appeals rather to his political interests than to his compassion, pointing out that the Portuguese, though worsted at Hughli, are still powerful on the opposite coast of India; and that the vengeance of the Viceroy of Goa would fall upon the ships and sea-faring people; so that many of his Majesty's subjects would suffer in retaliation for each of those he should condemn.

Shah Jahan yields, and the valiant soldiers of the Cross, after being again ignominiously paraded through the town, are reconducted to prison. Garcia and Danhaya died in consequence of their fatigues and sufferings, and were buried in the Christian cemetery of Agra;* and there their humble but glorious tombs have been happily preserved as stated above.

After these events negotiations were set on foot, between the Court of Agra and the Viceroy of Goa, by means of some Moghul merchants who had correspondents in the latter city, for the liberty of Fathers Antony of Christ, and Francis of the Incarnation, and though no understanding could then be arrived at, they were allowed to go freely through the city where they had a house and an oratory and were permitted to send one of their companions to Goa to transact their affairs. Meanwhile the worthy Prior availed himself of the liberty he enjoyed, to visit all the other captives, imparting to them

* Manrique says that the priests died the day after their return to prison, but this does not accord with the dates given on their tomb-stones which shew that Garcia died on the 23rd March 1634, and Danhaya on the 2nd August 1635.

the consolation of religion and all the help and comfort in his power. Having heard to the utmost grief of his heart, that some of them, being the slaves of princes and lords, had apostatized from the faith of Christ on account of the ill-treatment to which they had been subjected, he requested and obtained permission for them to go freely about the city, begging, and working for their food; and as a pledge that they would not desert, he, like a generous minister, and imitator of Christ, constituted himself a prisoner again as a hostage for them, and managed by means of Rs. 3,000 given him for his own ransom, to purchase the liberty of several of their number. The holy servant of God, Father Antony, was engaged in these sublime works of charity and zeal, when Manrique visited him in his prison, in January 1641.

Immediately after this interview, Manrique called on Nawab Subdhal Khan, the Governor of Agra, to begin negotiations for the release of Father Antony and of his companions. The Governor informed him that the Emperor being then at Lahore, nothing could be done at that moment. Manrique replied that he would proceed to Lahore to pursue the object of his mission—Subdhal Khan, very courteously said, that as he himself was going to Lahore, in a short time, he might join him in the journey. Manrique gladly accepted the offer, and profited by the delay to visit all the monuments of Agra, which he describes with most minute details, particularly Secundra.* There he noticed under a portico a picture of the "empress of heaven," the blessed Virgin Mary, whom the Mahometans call *Bibi Mariam* and accordingly respect as the mother of Christ.

After twenty-six days passed in expectation of the departure of Subdhal Khan, finding that he was not likely to move before another month, Manrique, took leave of him, of Fathers Antony and Francis, still in prison, and also of the Jesuit Fathers, with whom he had spent Christmas, and set out for Lahore, where he arrived in twenty-one days. There having alighted at the caravanserai of the Europeans

* The Taj Mahal was then in course of erection, and was designed, Manrique informs us, by a Venetian merchant named Jeronimo Veroneo, who died at Lahore about A. D. 1637.

(Faringis) he met another Jesuit Father, Joseph da Castro, who invited him to his dwelling, promising to assist him in expediting his affairs.

By the intervention of a friend of Father Joseph's, attached to the Court, Manrique was soon admitted to an audience with Nawab Asaf Khan. On the day appointed, the Prince sent an officer with four sepais (soldiers) on horse-back, to escort him to the palace. Having resolved to meet Asaf Khan in his monastic gown, Manrique informs us, that after having said mass, he made his tonsure, and mounting a horse, still in his Moghul attire, he arrived at the palace gate.

After he had put on his religious habit, in the house of Father Joseph's friend, he appeared again in the midst of his Moghul followers who were not a little astonished to see him so suddenly transformed from a merchant into a monk. He was ushered into the gardens of Asaf Khan's residence; here art seemed to vie with nature in exhibiting all sorts of embellishments. Amongst these he observed in particular some pictures representing different scenes in the life of St. John the Baptist, and especially the baptism of Jesus Christ. The hour fixed for the interview having arrived he was introduced into the vast and gorgeously decorated apartments of Asaf Khan, who received him with the utmost courtesy, inviting him to a seat by his side, and presenting him the betel-leaf with his own hand, an extraordinary mark of honor. Encouraged by so friendly a welcome, Manrique after replying to the many questions put to him by the prince, about the countries he had travelled through, entered upon the particular object of his journey to Lahore viz., to obtain the liberty of Father Antony of Christ whose sufferings in prison, he related in the most gloomy colors, dilating upon the admirable constancy and heroic virtue with which he had borne them, and concluded with an earnest prayer that the prince would use his well-known influence, with his imperial son-in-law to obtain the release from captivity, of so holy a servant of God, and of his companions. Asaf Khan listened with the utmost attention, and promised that should he not be able to set Father Antony entirely at liberty he would at least have him taken out of confinement without delay.

After these welcome promises Father Manrique took leave of the Prince, who graciously complimented him on his perfect acquaintance with the manners of an oriental Court, ordering that he should be admitted whenever he chose to pay another visit. Two days later he received from Asaf Khan some presents among which were two melons, brought all the way from Persia and a bag containing Rs. 300. Manrique availing himself of the kind invitation he had received from the Prince, had several other interviews with him, during which he concluded with success the transaction of the full release of Father Antony and his companions, and moreover obtained from Shah Jahan, through the mediation of Asaf Khan, a *farmán*, authorizing the reconstruction in Scind of some Churches and Chapels, which had been been destroyed shortly before by order of the same Emperor.

After having so happily secured all the interests of his Mission with the Imperial Court, Manrique, without returning to Ágra proceeded from Lahore to Scind whilst Father Antony of Christ and the remaining companions of his captivity, returned respectively to Bengal and Goa.

I shall bring this narrative to an end by relating, according to Manrique a marvellous occurrence which happened at Ágra in 1640.

The great constancy of Father Antony of Christ in the midst of his labors and sufferings, to which he added the austerities of a penitential life, had gained him the highest repute for sanctity amongst certain well-minded Musulmans who held him as a *pir* (saint). One of these was so much attached to him that he used to visit him in his prison almost every day, remaining with him several hours in conversation, during which the servant of God explained to him the beauties of our holy religion, and related many extraordinary favors granted by God to the prayers of His servants. One day, his Moghul friend came to him in great distress, telling him that his wife was in immediate danger of death in the pains of child-birth being unable to be delivered, and besought him to pray to God for her safety. The holy man detaching the girdle he had round his waist, and giving it to him

said: "take this girdle of St. Augustin and with great confidence in God and in the merits of the Saint, put it on the patient." He did so, and his wife was instantly delivered of a son. On hearing of this the infidels glorified God crying out aloud: *Allah Karim, Allah Mihrban*, that is, O Merciful God, O Good God: By this fact they were more strongly confirmed in the high opinion they had conceived of Father Antony's sanctity.

/ The following are the names, so far as they can be read, and the years of the deaths of the Roman Catholic priests, who are buried in the Chapel of Padree Santos:—

Manuel Garcia,	...	...	...	1634
Francesco Lanfranki,	...	...	...	1634
Antonio da Fonseca,	...	...	...	1634
Manuel Danhaya,	...	...	...	1635
Francesco Corsi,	...	...	...	1635
Antonio Machado,	...	...	...	1636
Joseph da Castro,	...	...	...	1646
Antonio Seques,	...	...	...	1656
Francisco da Souza,	...	...	...	1657
Alberto de Reville,	...	...	...	1662
Po. de Mattos,	...	...	...	1664
Henrio Veroa,	...	...	...	1668
Joseph da Costa,	...	...	...	1685
Joseph da Pajua,	...	...	...	1706
Efoise Puefada,	...	...	...	1706
Anto. Demagesque,	...	...	...	1707
Anton Gabelsberger,	...	...	...	1741
Francisco da Cruz,	...	...	...	1742
Matth. Rodrigues,	...	...	...	1748
F. Xavier,	...	...	...	1767

Besides these, there are several inscriptions in Roman letters which are illegible, and one in the Persian character, which is as old as the year 1611, and the translation of which appears to be as follows:—

“Here lies the holy Khwaja (rich merchant) Mortenepus, Armenian, who was a professed disciple of Christ, and who was a righteous man; whatever he had, he gave in charity to the poor, in token of fidelity to his Divine Master, in the year one thousand six hundred and eleven from the birth of Christ.

The date of this inscription, the high opinion of holiness in which Mortenepus was held, his wealth and the conspicuous place occupied by his tomb, shew that the Chapel was originally erected as a funera monument to his memory.

—ooo—

THE TANKAH OF AKBAR.

In the account of the *Tabdqāt-i-Akbari* given in Prof. Dowson's *Elliot* v. 186, it is stated that the author was for many years paymaster of the province of Guzerat, and was much esteemed as an able and intelligent administrator. He wrote a history of India under the Muhammadan rulers, and continued to write almost up to the date of his death in the thirty-ninth year of Akbar's reign. At the very end of the conclusion, as it now stands, are these words:—

“At the present time Hindustan yields a revenue of 640 *krore muradi tankahs*.”

As the writer had given the boundaries and extent above this statement, and as he is admittedly a good authority, it seems highly important to determine the meaning of this word *tankah* in order to realize what may have been Nizam's real estimate as shown in modern money.

Hindustan, he says, measures 1680 *kos* from the Hindu Kush to the Bay of Bengal, and 800 from Kashmere to Broach. This comprises

our first twelve *subahs*, assessed according to Abul Fazl (writing in the very next year) at an aggregate of nearly ten *krors* of Rupees. Great uncertainty appears to exist as to the meaning of the word *tankah*. In the dictionaries it appears as the equivalent of two *paisas*. But it is not easy to find out what was the value of the *paisa* then current. It is not described in the *Ain Akbari*, except that in his account of the copper coinage the author says, that the *dám* of account (of which forty went to the Rupee) was at one time called *paisa*. This, at first sight, at least, is strong confirmation of Mr. Thomas' contention* that 20 *tankahs* = 1 Rupee. In this estimate he is also supported by Jean De Lact, a Dutch compiler of the early part of the seventeenth century,

It is however to be noticed that Nizam-ud-din, the author of the *Tabáqát-i-Akbari*, a colleague and friend of Abul Fazl's writing but one year earlier, states the revenue at a sum equal, on this computation, to more than three times that estimated in the *Ain*. He states the revenue of Akbar's dominions at six *arbs* and forty *krors* of *tankahs*.

De Lact says, that it was six *arbs* and ninety eight *krors* of *dáms* of which two went to the *tankah* so that according to him it was not much more than half of what it was stated in the *Tabáqát*. Abul Fazl puts the assessment at three *arbs* and about sixty three *krors* of *dáms*, supporting his estimate by detailed rolls which he calls *taqsim jamas*.

Now if Nizam and De Lact used the word *tankah* in the same sense, it is plain that the estimate of the former is nearly double that of the latter, and that it is between three and four fold that of Abul Fazl; 640,000,000 of *tankahs*† at 24 *dáms* being over 38 *krors* of Rupees, and at 20 no less than 32 *krors*: say 32 millions of pounds @ 2 shillings the Rupee.

Such divergences are not to be accepted. Mr. E. Thomas would partly reconcile them by assuming that Nizam wrote of the *total* re-

* There can be very little contest about the value of the pices designated as *tankahs muradi*. Revenue Resources p. 7.

† Vide Article "Dandeh" in the *Ain*.

venue of the empire while De Lact and Abul Fazl meant the land revenue alone, and the text of the *Ain* has been corrupted from six *arbs* it ought to be, to "three" as it now stands.

But this is a violent remedy. De Lact gives no unit that he is speaking of land-revenue only; and he estimates the total at 17 *krors* 5 *lakhs* (at 20 *tankahs* per Rupee). Abul Fazl in his *tagsim jamas* names several sources of revenue besides the land and the total is proportionally higher than the estimate in his text. That text is open* to no suspicion, being accepted by Prof. Blochmann and Munshi Naval Kishore, two excellent authorities. The estimate first given comes to nine *krors* of Rupees and over the aggregate of the administrative totals is only four *lakhs* less than ten *krors*.

Is it possible that there are two *tankahs*† (or *takas*) as there were certainly two *dāms*—and that the *tanka* spoken of in the *Tabaqat* was of the same value as the modern *pice*? It seems improbable that Akbar, from twelve *subahs*, could have collected a sum almost equal to that collected by Lord Lawrence from the whole of India minus the customs and opium revenue (items not compulsory upon any one in the country.)

If however Nizam-ud-din's *tanka*, like most of the modern *pice*, was 64 to the Rupee, then his total tallies almost exactly with that in the *tagsim jamas* of the *Ain*. This is far more likely than that his fellow minister writing within a few months of him, should estimate their common topic at only one-third of what he did. It would be like Lord Beaconsfield recording that the receipts of the Chancellor of the Exchequer were less than 25 millions of money.

De Lact, writing at Amsterdam on second-hand materials, may have been misled by ignorance, or may have used another kind of *tanka*.

* Text, ...	9,07,43,881.	} Rupees.
Tagstim —	9,96,18,850.	
Jamas, ...		

† Vide Elliot's Glossary in loc.

ṭāh. His estimate in no way tallies either with the higher or the lower, yielding a total of over 17 *krors* of Rupees. No doubt there were other fluctuating sums arising from escheats and fines, but their amount could not be determined, least of all by a foreign writer.

I am indebted to my learned friend Syed Ahmed of Aligarh for the suggestion that *tankah* may have no connection with the modern *ṭakka*, but may be an abbreviation and corruption for *dām tankhwā* the "money of salaries" or "integer of account." See also the passage from Ferishta regarding the *dāms* of Aurangzeb (Thomas page 20.) Now the *dām* of Akbar was of the value of $\frac{1}{16}$ of a Rupee, so that 640 *krors* of those coins would have yielded 16 *krors* of Rupees; which though only half Mr. Thomas' estimate would still be much in excess of the re-iterated calculations of the *Ain*.

Lastly, I have to observe that the word *murādi* is not likely to afford a clue. It is only the common word used by native accountants to show that they are dealing with sums stated in copper, as *mubligh* is used when silver is in question.

On all these grounds I provisionally incline to take the *tankah* as equivalent to the modern *paisa* of these parts, and to conclude that 640 *krors* of *tankah* mean ten *krors* of Rupees as estimated in the *Ain Akbari*. In modern Indian usage it seems to mean a coin, "white," or *mubligh*, if meant for silver; "black", or *murādi*, if for copper.

The reader may refer to Mr. Thomas' remarks on the word (*Chronicles* p. 49 note).—"The derivation of the term *Tankah*" &c., down to. "Monnaie d' argent;"

"It is not clear on what ground the *tankah* of the *Tabāqāt* is assumed (p. 388) to be the Sikandari *tankah*. It only seems clear that the author (a professed accountant) used words which would be understood by his contemporaries to mean that he was dealing with the copper currency of his day. His words are *shash sad wa chahār krur tankah murādi* شش صد و چهل کرور تنگه مرادی

The following extracts from Mr. Thomas' Preface appear almost conclusive in favor of my suggestion that the *muradi*, or copper, *tankah* was the sixty-fourth of a silver *tankah* or Rupee :—

"Indian currency consisted of hybrid pieces of silver and copper combined in the proportions necessary to constitute the equivalent subdivisions of the ruling silver *Tankah* which *was never divided in practice by any other number than 64*:" After explaining that the instinct of the Indian was to reckon by fours, and that the copper exchange against silver commenced with four *fals* to the $\frac{1}{64}$ of a (silver) *tankah*, the learned writer proceeds :—

"The quaternary scale, in short, was all-pervading ; there was no escaping the inevitable fours, sixteens, thirty-twos, and sixty-fours, the heritage of the masses which, having survived alike Aryan intrusions and Muhammadan conquest, still flourish (es) undisturbed by the presence of British decimals."

The copper integer, or "pice", of the present currency is still 64 to the Rupee : but I am not sure that there is anything un-Aryan in this. Witness the *avoirdupois* of England which still proceeds upon a scale of sixteen. •

15th June, 1878.

H. G. KEENE.

The premature death of Professor Blochmann, M. A., of the Calcutta Madrisa entails a quite irreparable loss to Oriental Literature. He was without controversy the profoundest Persian scholar of the day; and his contributions to Indian history have been recognised as of primary importance by Professor Dowson, Mr. E. Thomas, F. R. S., and many other competent authorities. Besides his work on Persian prosody and several articles in the *Calcutta Review*, he had edited the *Ain Akbari*, giving a text supposed to be absolutely accurate. He had also published one volume of a new translation of the *Ain*, with a wealth of notes and illustrations which make the book—even in its unfinished state—a mine of original information on all that relates to the early history of the Moghul Empire. His fairness and obliging disposition were well known to local students. At the time of his death he was engaged in editing Mr. Beale's *Oriental Biographical Dictionary* for the Government, N. W. P., which should on no account be allowed to drop. The Professor had been suffering from fever, but was considered convalescent till within a few days. By his death the Asiatic Society of Bengal will lose a Secretary whom it will be difficult indeed to replace. Besides the Biographical Dictionary he is believed to have left other M. S. S. and it is to be hoped that the Asiatic Society will not fail to publish these under the care of a competent Editor. All available remains of such a scholar should be religiously preserved.

H. G. KEENE.

PLATE I.—FIGURE 1.

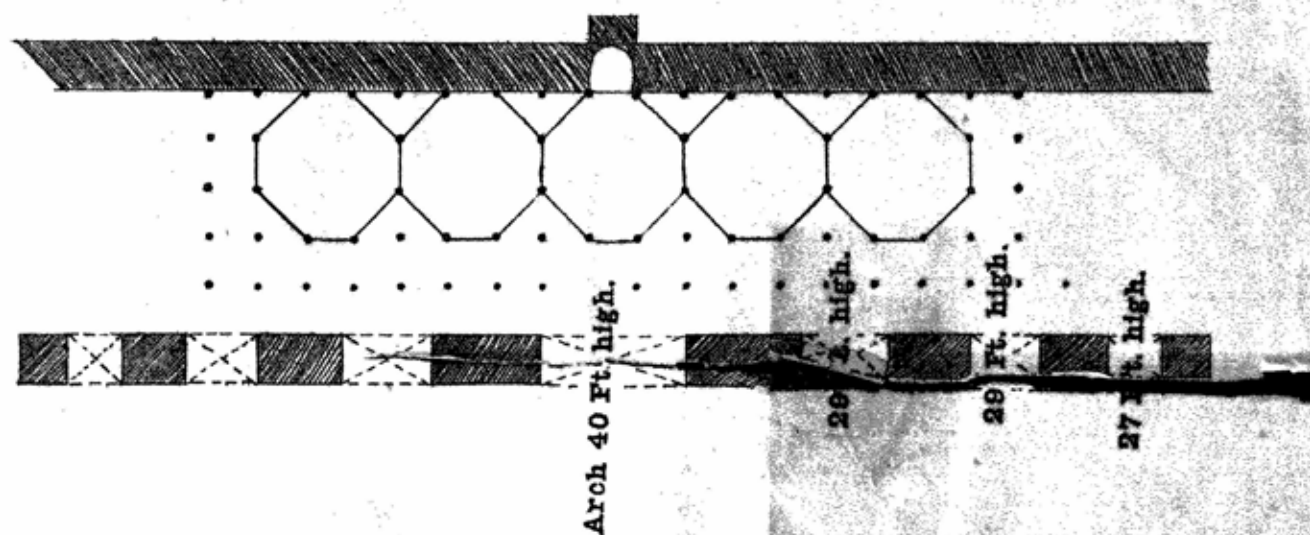
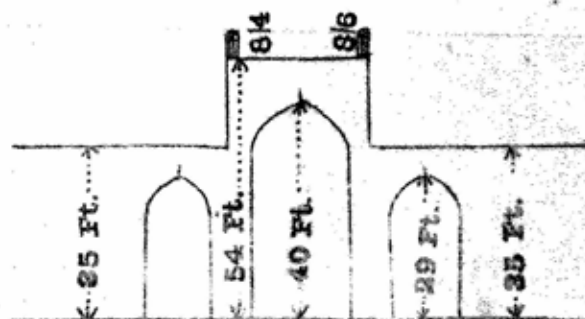
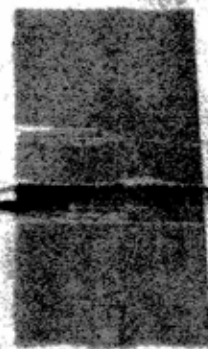


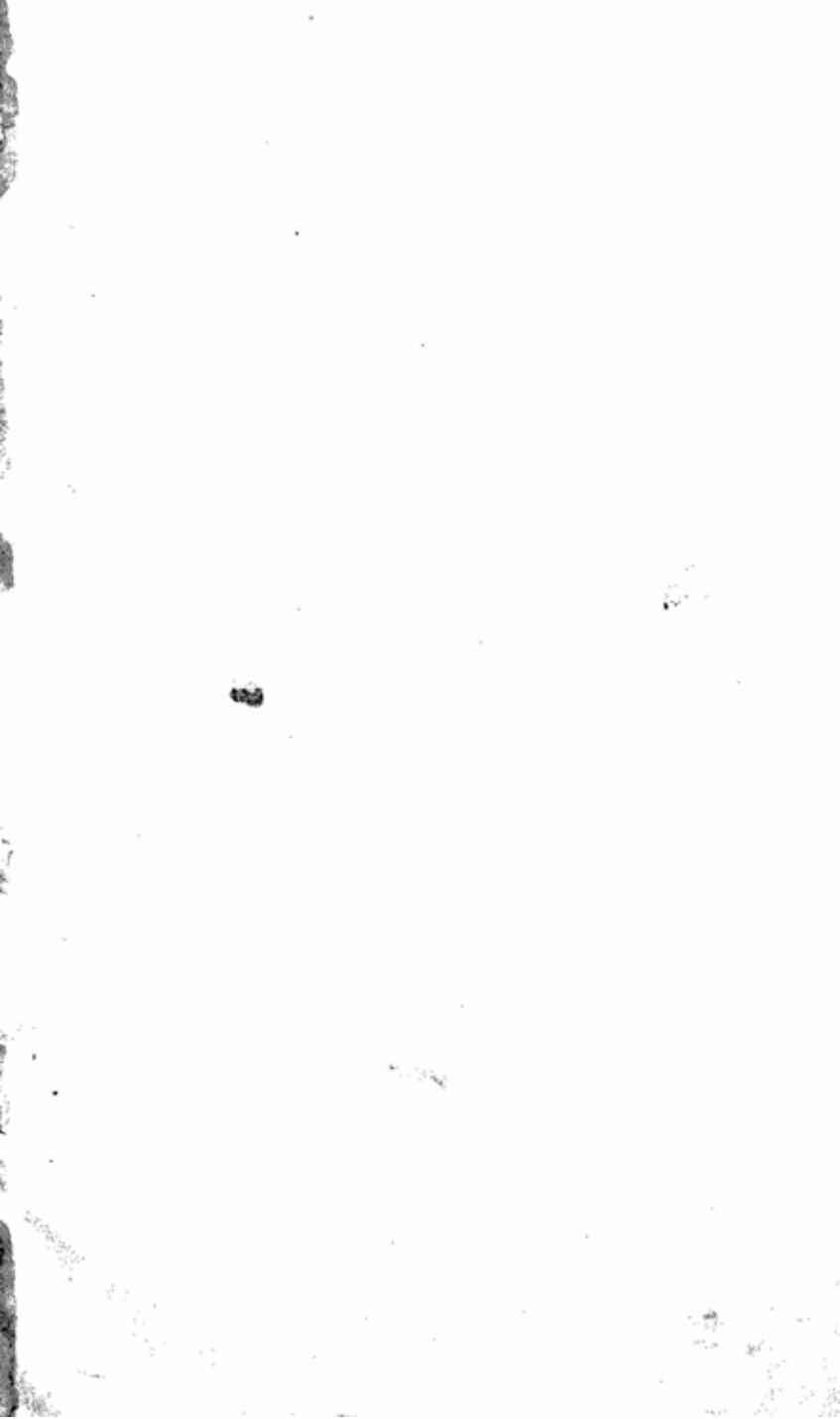
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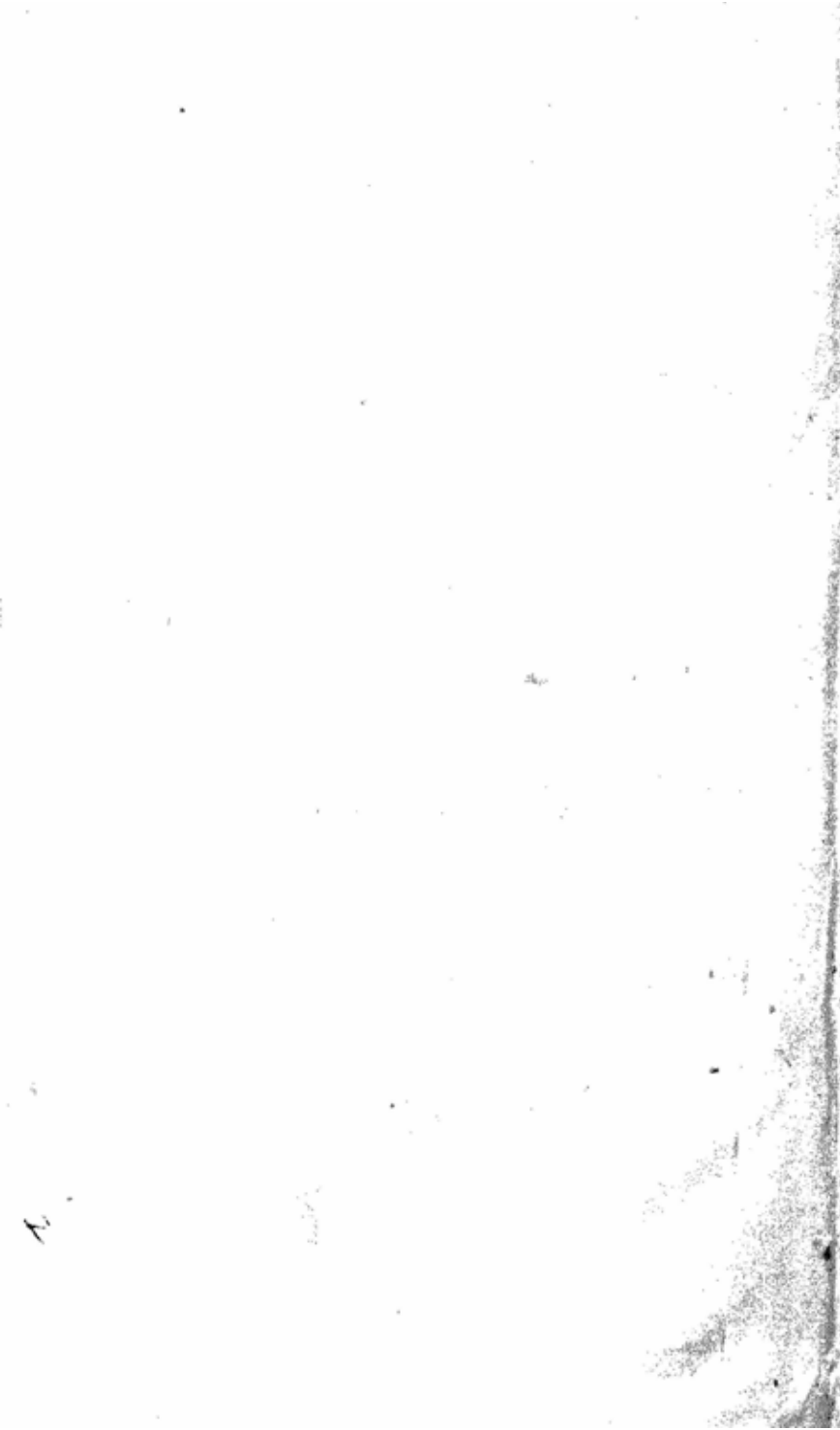




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